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IDENTICAL LETTERS DATED 14 JANUARY 1999 FROM THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention to an article written by Tariq Aziz, Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, and published in the Iraqi newspaper Al-Thawrah. In his article, Mr. Aziz states the following:

> "Kuwait is an entity that was established by the United Kingdom with a view to containing Iraq and denying it access to its historical coasts, which have always been part of its territory, from the Sumerian era right up to the Ottoman Empire, the last power to occupy Iraq and the region before the establishment of the modern entity of Iraq in 1921."

In the same article, the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister referred to the memorandum that Iraq sent the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States in July 1990, a few days before the aggression against and occupation of the State of Kuwait in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the rules of international law and the Charter of the League of Arab States.

You are surely aware that Mr. Aziz's article is a tissue of lies that distorts historical facts recognized throughout the Arab world and by the international community, namely that Kuwait is a State with historical boundaries that were recognized before the establishment of Iraq as a political entity in 1921.

Even more serious, this article constitutes a complete repudiation by a senior Iraqi official responsible for foreign affairs, of all of Iraq's obligations under the Security Council resolutions that have been adopted since its aggression against the State of Kuwait. Iraq accepted those resolutions without any reservations or conditions, in particular Council resolution 687 (1991) of 8 April 1991 on a ceasefire, which set forth all of Iraq's obligations in the aftermath of its aggression against the State of Kuwait, and Council resolution 833 (1993) of 27 May 1993 on the demarcation of boundaries, which was accepted by Iraq without any conditions or reservations, ratified in accordance with Iraqi constitutional procedure and published in the Official Gazette in November 1994.

Moreover, the article in question is yet another example of Iraq's usual practice of reneging on obligations accepted without any conditions or reservations. This proves that Iraq has not abandoned its expansionist designs in its foreign policy and its relations with its neighbours, particularly the State of Kuwait.

The article constitutes a threat to the peace and security of the region and is likely to exacerbate the instability currently felt by the States of the region. We therefore request you, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to condemn this stance by a high-ranking Iraqi official and to reaffirm the facts that have been established in the many Security Council resolutions on the subject.

I am transmitting herewith the full text of the article in question, as published by the Iraqi newspaper Al-Thawrah, and request that you bring it to the attention of the members of the Council and that you have this letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mansour AL-OTAIBI
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

Annex

Front-page article published on 10 January 1999 in issue No. 9674 of the Iraqi newspaper Al-Thawrah

"Who should apologize to whom?"

by Tariq Aziz

So as not to have to condemn the criminal aggression perpetrated by the United States of America and the United Kingdom against Iraq, and not to heed the call of the Arab masses, particularly the active forces that are calling for the lifting of the embargo against Iraq, and as part of the campaign to obfuscate the main issue and lay all the blame on the political leadership of Iraq, certain Arab circles are asking Iraq to apologize for its occupation of Kuwait and express its regrets in order to pave the way for inter-Arab reconciliation. According to those who support this initiative, the Arab countries will ask the Security Council to lift the embargo, in accordance with "international legality" and within the framework of the implementation of Security Council resolutions.

The advocates of this initiative, and by "advocates" I mean those who have since 1990 supported the American-Zionist plot to destroy Iraq and take control of the region, show their contempt for ancient and recent history and believe that they can thus deceive the masses by obscuring the crux of the problem faced by the Arab world as a result of American-Zionist attempts to gain hegemony, of which the events of 2 August 1990 were only one stage.

The same circles are also endeavouring to convince Arab public opinion that one Arab party was deeply wronged and that the only means of redressing that wrong would be for Iraq to apologize and express its regrets.

Those who have distorted reality from 1990 to this day are attempting to cover up their own crime, which consisted in participating, in word and in deed, in aggression against Iraq and in the American-Zionist military, economic and political domination of the region. In their logic, those circles do not believe that Arab public opinion, especially its conscious elements, and the enlightened elements of international opinion will realize the true motives for this campaign. The question that must be asked is this: are the leaders of Kuwait victims or criminals responsible for premeditated aggression against Iraq? Are they the leaders of an Arab entity similar to all other entities or are they the minions of the United Kingdom and the United States, whose mission is to contain and weaken Iraq? There are historical truths that cannot be contradicted by superficial allegations. These truths go back to the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth and irrefutably prove that Kuwait is an entity that was established by the United Kingdom with a view to containing Iraq and denying it access to its historical coasts, which have always been part of its territory, from the Sumerian era right up to the Ottoman Empire, the last power to occupy Iraq and the region before the establishment of the modern entity of Iraq in 1921.

The crimes of the Kuwaiti leaders began the day that Mubarak Al-Sabah, the forebear of the current leaders of Kuwait, murdered his brothers, Muhammad and Jarah, with the complicity of the British with whom he had signed a secret agreement in 1899 that allied Kuwait with the United Kingdom against the Ottoman State, which at the time controlled Kuwait, a governorate of Basra province.

President Saddam Hussein is not the only Iraqi leader to have cited these truths. The current Iraqi leadership is not the only one to state that Kuwait was established to contain Iraq in order to make it an enclave and weaken it militarily and economically. All those who have been in power in Iraq since 1921 have said this, beginning with Faisal I, Ghazi ibn Faisal, Faisal ibn Ghazi ibn Faisal, Nuri Said, Yasin Al-Hashemi, Tawfiq Al-Suwaydi and others who held high-ranking posts until 14 July 1958. The leaders of Iraq when the country was a kingdom were, like certain modern Arab leaders, on friendly terms with the United Kingdom and the United States. Nevertheless, they were not unaware of these realities. Since 14 July 1958, Iraqi leaders have continually reaffirmed Iraq's position.

Which of all those leaders should apologize to Kuwait? Should dead leaders come back to life to apologize to the descendants of Mubarak Al-Sabah, his brothers' murderer, and congratulate them on having linked the fate of part of the Iraqi nation to the United Kingdom in order to make it a British and later an American base for hatching plots against Iraq with a view to weakening it?

In addition to the historical truths concerning the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, how did the Kuwaiti leaders behave before the events of August 1990?

On 15 July 1990, a memorandum was sent to the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States warning him of the behaviour of the Kuwaiti leaders and their hostile designs against Iraq. Here are a few excerpts:

> "We regret to inform you that the Kuwaiti Government is behaving towards us in way that completely contradicts the principles governing relations among the countries members of the Arab nation. In spite of our fraternal and sincere attitude towards them in all respects, and in spite of our readiness to engage in a dialogue at any time, the Kuwaiti officials are taking a position that is harmful to Iraq and seeks to weaken it just as it is emerging from a bloody eight-year war that all Arabs - leaders, intellectuals and citizens, including the heads of the Gulf States - agree that Iraq waged in order to defend the sovereignty of the entire Arab nation, particularly the Gulf States, including - and especially - Kuwait. The Kuwaiti Government's policy to weaken Iraq, which is faced with a virulent American-Zionist campaign owing to its nationalist positions in defence of Arab rights, is motivated by selfish considerations, a narrow vision and goals about which the least one can say is that they are suspect and dangerous."

The memorandum then describes the machinations of Kuwaiti leaders who sought to harm Iraq in this regard.

1. Question of boundaries:

Excerpt from the memorandum: "Everyone knows that, since the colonial era and the partition of the Arab nation, the question of the demarcation of the boundaries between Iraq and Kuwait has remained unresolved and the contacts begun in the 1960s and 1970s did not settle the issue up to the outbreak of the war between Iraq and Iran, which lasted for many long years and, while the valiant sons of Iraq were shedding their blood on various fronts to defend Arab land, including Kuwait, and to uphold Arab sovereignty and dignity, including that of Kuwait, the Kuwaiti Government took advantage of the fact that Iraq was busy defending the Arab nation, in order to carry out a premeditated plan involving the progressive annexation of Iraqi territory through the establishment of military posts, oil infrastructures and farms.

We have chosen to remain silent about all this and have simply alluded to it within the framework of the principles of brotherhood which, we thought, everyone believed in. The Kuwaiti Government, however, persisted in its behaviour, thus proving that it was engaged in a premeditated action.

After the liberation of Faw, we took the initiative, at the 1988 Algiers Summit, to inform the Kuwaiti party of our sincere intention to settle this issue in the context of fraternal relations and in the higher interests of the Arab nation. Imagine, then, our surprise when we learned that not only had the Kuwaiti leaders not welcomed this fraternal initiative but had done their utmost to delay contacts and consultations by inventing all sorts of obstacles. At the same time, they were continuing to construct oil-production facilities and set up military installations and farms on Iraqi territory.